

covers. The issue of what is covered and what is not covered is this: Is it the product that causes harm? If yes, then it is covered in the bill. However, if the person using the product that causes harm—such as the driver of a car—the case is not covered by this bill.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I read the law, and it is properly quoted by MADD. We doublechecked because we heard some rumors. So checking it out, we found that the MADD position in opposition to this legislation is the same as I included in the RECORD, you can read the exact language which says "any several action brought, or any theory of harm caused by a product or product use"—period, end quote. So they know what they are talking about.

Now to the confusion. You saw that 30-minute demonstration we had out here about strict liability and utilities. They wrote that in the double negative fashion because they did not want to say we are going to exempt strict liability. So they have done so by covering it in this bill.

Right to the point, they tell the gas company to go ahead and get reckless and not worry about punitive damages for the simple reason that now, having been written that way, you have to have malice.

I could cover a plethora of things. The solution is within the States. The Senator from Rhode Island was correct. We have been on it for 15 years. The State of Tennessee has acted. The State of South Carolina has acted. When we say it is a moderate, bipartisan bill, the opposition is moderate and bipartisan. There is bipartisan opposition because this goes totally against the grain. When I was sent up here some 29 years ago standing for States rights, here comes the crowd finally saying let us have education back to the States; Medicaid, let us have it back to the States; crime and block grants back to the States; welfare, the Governors say, come, give it to us, back to the States. The States are doing the job. The majority leader runs around with a tenth amendment in his pocket and pulls it out, and says we have government going back to the States. But the business crowd downtown wrote this sorry measure. It is not bipartisan with respect to the conference. We were never asked into that conference; never considered. That had not happened. That had not happened.

I found out about this on CBS when they talked about the silly case of women going into the men's room.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Who yields time?

The Senator from Washington.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, this debate can come down to an example involving one individual, a young girl, and one company. The young girl is Tara Ransom, whose story is told in today's Wall Street Journal, and who with her parents has come to my office.

Tara is one of 50,000 hydrocephalics in the United States with a condition that previously could not be treated at all and was a literal terror to its victims and to their parents.

She has, nonetheless, led a normal life, almost a normal life, due to a series of silicon shunts which have to be replaced every year or so due to her growth rate.

It is now becoming next to impossible for Tara to get such a silicon shunt because the one company, Dow-Corning, that is willing to manufacture it, is in bankruptcy largely due to product liability litigation and is threatened with class actions.

Dow-Corning simply manufactures the silicone. In one of these shunts its net return is \$1 or \$2. As the Presiding Officer as a physician knows, not every medical device works perfectly at all times and under all circumstances. I think it is almost inevitable that among those 50,000 hydrocephalics, or the numbers of thousands who use these shunts at some point or another, one of them is going to die, and there will be a threat of a lawsuit against every one who had anything to do with the shunt. The manufacturer of the material itself would be brought right into that lawsuit. Its liability, even if it wins, the cost of its attorney's fees will be far more than the gross sales price of all of the silicone it sold. So it will not sell the material. We now in some parts of the world have a black market in these shunts for exactly this reason.

So to save the trial lawyers, to deal with all of the abstractions we heard from here today, Tara Ransom and others like her may soon not be able to get the very devices that have allowed them to lead reasonably normal lives. If this bill passes—and I refer you to the statement of Senator McCain—that will no longer be the case. It is one of the harms, one of the outrages, in our present legal system which will be controlled by this bill.

Mr. President, the Cessna airplane company—in the late 1970's general aircraft in the United States was being manufactured and shipped at the rate of more than 17,000 a year. By 1982, it was down to almost just more than half of that. By 1986, claims hit \$210 million a year. By 1991, Piper went into bankruptcy. By 1993, 100,000 jobs had been lost in general aviation largely due to our present product liability system. By that time, fewer than 1,000 planes per year were being manufactured in the United States as against 17,000. In August 1994, this Congress passed the General Aviation Revitalization Act. All it consisted of was a statute of repose at 18 years for aircraft. That is all that was in that reform. Already there has been a rebound. The very next year more aircraft were manufactured than were manufactured before, and this year Cessna is building a \$40 million plant to hire 2,000 people to get back into this business.

That, Mr. President, is what this debate is all about—whether or not young people and older people will be able to get medical devices that they need without the manufacturers being frightened out of the business by liability costs, and whether or not industries in the United States will be able to operate successfully to hire people to produce goods that people would like to buy.

We have a legal system now which has hurt our competitiveness, has driven up prices, has reduced the choices that the American people have, all to oblige a handful of trial lawyers. This bill is a modest beginning to create a redress in that balance and to restore the economy of the United States and to provide better products for more people at a lower cost more of the time. It is just as simple as that, Mr. President.

Mr. President, how much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Twenty-four seconds.

Mr. GORTON. I yield the remainder of my time.

Have the yeas and nays been ordered?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. They are automatic.

CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the conference report to accompany H.R. 956, the Product Liability Fairness Act:

Slade Gorton, Trent Lott, Hank Brown, Chuck Grassley, Craig Thomas, Larry E. Craig, Frank H. Murkowski, Nancy L. Kassebaum, Mark Hatfield, Larry Pressler, Bob Smith, Jon Kyl, John H. Chafee, Conrad Burns, Pete V. Domenici, John McCain.

VOTE

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COHEN). The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate be brought to a close? The yeas and nays are mandatory under rule XXII. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 60, nays 40, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 44 Leg.]

YEAS—60

Abraham	Dorgan	Johnston
Ashcroft	Exon	Kassebaum
Bennett	Faircloth	Kempthorne
Bond	Frist	Kohl
Brown	Glenn	Kyl
Burns	Gorton	Lieberman
Campbell	Gramm	Lott
Chafee	Grams	Lugar
Coats	Grassley	Mack
Cochran	Gregg	McCain
Coverdell	Hatch	McConnell
Craig	Hatfield	Moseley-Braun
DeWine	Helms	Murkowski
Dodd	Hutchison	Nickles
Dole	Inhofe	Nunn
Domenici	Jeffords	Pell